

1608/275

FIVE
SPEECHES:

As they were spoken in the

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

By W----- S-----, Esq;

[Price One Shilling.]

FIVE

REPRESENTATIVE



HOUSE OF COMMONS

By Wm. A. Smith

Printed by Wm. A. Smith

[Price One Shilling]

FOUR
SPEECHES

AGAINST

Continuing the Army, &c.

As they were spoken on

SEVERAL OCCASIONS

IN THE

HOUSE of COMMONS.

AS ALSO,

A SPEECH

For RELIEVING the

UNHAPPY SUFFERERS

IN THE

Charitable Corporation;

As it was spoken in the

House of COMMONS, *May 8. 1732.*

By *W*——— *S*———, Esq;
_K

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. WILFORD, at the *Three Flower-de-Luces*,
behind the *Chapter-House*, near *St. Paul's*. 1732.

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AGAINST

Continuing the Army &c.

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SEVERAL OCCASIONS

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For Resolving the

UNNAPPROPRIATE

IN THE

Charitable Corporation;

As it was spoken in the

House of Commons, May 8. 1732.

By W. ————, Esq;

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. WILKINS, at the Three Flowers in-Lane, behind the Covent-House, near St. Pauls. 1732.



A

S P E E C H

AGAINST

Maintaining an ARMY of

Eighteen thousand two hundred
and sixty-four Effective Men for
the Land Service of the Year

1725. As it was spoken in the
HOUSE of COMMONS, Nov. 23.

1724.



HAVE spoke so often a-
gainst *maintaining an ex-
traordinary Number of
Land Forces in Time of
Peace*, that I should now choose to
be silent, if I had not the first Day
of the Session enter'd my' Claim to
dispute

dispute the Continuance of *the Four thousand Augmentation Troops*, and if I did not think it my Duty to oppose *every Proposition*, which seems to carry the least appearance of *Danger* to our *Constitution*.

I ASK Pardon (especially of *the Honourable Gentleman*, who moved it) if I take the present Question to be of *this Nature*. Nor can I be perswaded, that *the frequent Imposition of unnecessary Taxes*, or *the Repetition of any Grievance*, ought to beget an *Insensibility*, or a *slavish Acquiescence* in it. On the contrary, I think it ought to awaken and double our Attention, lest it should in time plead a *Prescriptive Right*, and gradually grow into an *Establishment*.

IF I may be permitted to consider *the King's Speech*, as *the Composition of his Ministers* (which tho' I know



know by *Experience* to be a more dangerous, is yet a more *Parliamentary*, Way, than to consider it, as *an Edict from the Throne*) I will observe, that it does not ask the Opinion and Advice of *the Commons*, how far they will use their great, essential and undisputed Right of raising Money; but it positively prescribes the exact Provision, we are to make, both by Sea and Land, for the Service of the ensuing Year; and, whether that be not a new Method of speaking to Parliaments, is with all Deference submitted to the Wisdom of *this House*, which is the best Judge of its own Privileges and Power.

SURELY, Sir, it is very melancholy to hear one Session after another, that, tho' we are in a State of *Tranquillity*, as the Language is, yet we can neither be secure at home, nor respected abroad, without continuing
above

above Eighteen thousand Land Forces in Pay.

THIS Way of Reasoning entirely misrepresents *our Circumstances and Condition.* For it would suggest, that we cannot enjoy the Blessings of a good Reign, without enduring at the same time the Hardships of a bad one, which is a Contradiction in it self, and inconsistent with the Notions we, as *Englishmen*, must ever entertain of *our legal Liberties*, in maintenance of which *our Predecessors in Parliament* thought fit to alter the *Lineal Succession of our Royal Family.* This Way of Reasoning further supposes, that the *mutual Confidence* betwixt his Majesty and his People is destroyed, that there is a *Distrust* on one hand and a *Disaffection* on the other, for which there is not the least Ground or Pretence. For his Majesty, by his *Residence* amongst us this last Summer,

mer, has not only given us the clearest Proof of his preferring the Welfare and Happiness of *these Kingdoms* to that of *his own Foreign Dominions*; but has for ever secured the Love of his Subjects here by his most gracious Affability and personal Condescensions to them. He has for ever secured *that Tranquillity at home*, on which he is pleased with so much Satisfaction to congratulate his Parliament. Nor can *this Tranquillity* be affected by *the Clamours in Ireland* against a late Patent. For there is a large Army in that Kingdom sufficient to curb *tumultuous Spirits*, and to awe *Patronizing Malecontents*, should any such be found. Nay, if more Forces are judged necessary, either for the Honour or Safety of the Government there, *that Kingdom* is able and willing to maintain more on its own Establishment; and therefore all Arguments drawn from thence relating to the present

Question must be inconclusive. The House may perhaps think fit, at a proper Season, to listen so far to the Complaints of our Fellow-Subjects in another Kingdom, as to call for *this obnoxious Patent*, and to examine into *the Grounds of it*. For *the Misgovernment of Ireland* has been frequently under *the Examination of the House of Commons here*, and such *Examinations* have formerly proved fatal to as great *Ministers*, as *England* ever bred; which may be Matter of Reflection to *their Successors*, and to *those it may concern*. But can never be any Inducement to an *English Parliament* to pay one Soldier more, than is *absolutely necessary* for our own Use.

10. Now all *Rebellions*, all *Conspiracies*, seem to be totally extinguished, not more by the late *seasonable Exertion of Parliamentary Justice*, than by the *wise and prudent Conduct of those in the Administration*. They have

have so carefully *Reviewed and Modelled the Forces this Summer* in every Part of the Nation, that, we are to hope, there are not left even so many, as *three or four Serjeants and Corporals*, who shall have Fool-hardiness enough to undertake again to draw the whole Army into wild and chimerical Attempts. They have freed the Church from all Apprehensions of Danger, by promoting only the most Orthodox and Learned Part of the Clergy to the Episcopal Dignity, and other Ecclesiastical Preferments. They have preserved the State, by advancing only Men of distinguished Ability and Experience to all great Offices and Civil Employments. They have (which is above all) reconciled their own Animosities, and have no other Contentions now, but who shall best serve his Majesty and the Publick, without any Views of accumulating immense Wealth to themselves, or of aggrandizing their own private Families.

lies. Such an Administration can never need the Assistance and Protection of above Eighteen thousand disciplined Troops. Such an Administration should not suffer the Army to run away with the Reputation of their good and great Works, or to assume the Glory of raising our Credit, enlarging our Trade, and establishing our present Prosperity.

NOR are our Foreign Affairs in a less flourishing Condition, than those at Home, so far as I am capable of judging on the common Appearance of Things, without being in the Secrets of the Cabinet.

WE can have no Apprehensions from, our nearest Neighbour, France. For that Kingdom is engaged to us by many strict Treaties, and I have heard the French Bona Fides of late Years, as much asserted and extolled in this House, as I have formerly heard

heard it *ridiculed* and *exploded*. Besides, we have a *vigilant Minister at Paris*, who by his *own Skill and Penetration in Politicks*, as well as by *good Advice and Assistance from hence*, is not only promoting the *British Interests* there, but influencing and directing the *French Councils*.

NOR can we have any Pretence to keep up *those Forces* on account of *Danger from Spain*. For, if *that Monarchy* should be indiscreet enough to retain the least harsh Remembrance of any pretended ill Usage from *Great Britain*: If it should resent our glorious and seasonable Conquest over their Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, for which we struck a Medal with pompous Inscriptions: If it should insist on the *Restoration of Gibraltar and Port Mahon*, which (in my humble Opinion) can never be surrendered without the *biggest Infamy*, as well as *Injury*, to *England*.

land. I say, if any thing of this kind should remain in the Breast of the Court of Spain, notwithstanding our Treaties and daily Negotiations there, it is our Comfort, that we need fear no Invasion from their Armada; that the Mutability of their Counsels, their Pretensions in Italy, their Distance from Great Britain, render it impracticable for them, to annoy or distress us. And if Philip's Resignation of that Crown was a good Argument the last Year, for continuing the Four thousand Augmentation Troops, then his Resumption of it now must be a good one for disbanding them this Year.

THE Emperor's personal Obligations to Great Britain are such, that it is impossible for him to entertain any ill Intentions against us, either on account of the Ostend East India Company, or of his Majesty's glorious Endeavours to remove the Religious Grief-

Grievances in Germany, and to promote the Protestant Interest there, of which he is the great Guardian.

THE *Dutch* are our old natural *Allies*, and always ready to assist us. Nor is it their Fault, that we have sometimes disputed amongst our selves concerning the *Expence* of *Transporting* their *Auxiliar Forces*. They are bound to us, by *antient Ties of Gratitude* for their *Original Preservation*, and by, what is yet a stronger Cement, *their own present Interest and Safety*.

As to the *two Northern Crowns* of *Sweden and Denmark*. They have in their turns received *Your Protection*, and tasted of *Your Bounty*. We all remember the famous *Æra*, when *Two hundred and fifty thousand Pounds* (as well as many smaller *Supplies* since) were raised for *their Use*. Besides, we are to hope our *Expeditions* into
the

the Baltick, under the Conduct of a brave Officer here present, have been as effectual as they have been expensive, and that our Fleet has not only awed them into a Reconciliation betwixt themselves, but into an absolute Submission to Great Britain.

THE Czar is stretching his Conquests into remote Parts of the World, and if what we hear of a late Treaty be true, that it is made entirely in favour of Great Britain, without any regard to Foreign Principalities, we can apprehend nothing from our new Ally, who is otherwise so fully employed. For (however extensive our mediating Care may be) I presume we are not engaged with him to oppose the intended Succession of the Crown of Poland, or to settle the Ballance of Empire in Persia.

If

If such then is our *prosperous Situation* at Home and Abroad, Why should we be denied the *promised happy Consequences* of it? Why should we be afraid of *reducing our Land Forces*? Why should we not at least *strike off the Four thousand Augmentation Troops*, in compassion to a Nation loaded, and almost *sunk with Debt*? For should a Storm arise after this Calm, should any new *Events* produce a *Rupture* in Europe, it will be time enough (if we are either prompted by our *own heroick Disposition*, or bound by any *inviolable Treaties*, to enter into the *Quarrels of the Continent*) I say, it will be time enough, when the War shall be actually declared, to lend our *Assistance* to those, whom we voluntarily espouse, or to perform our *Engagements* to our *respective Allies*, if they shall not be found *Romantick and Impracticable*. We have the Opini-

on of a most eminent Author in Civil Learning, that it is more grievous to any Nation to bear the least extraordinary Taxes in Times of Peace, than to endure the greatest Impositions in Times of War. Because a War may prove advantageous, may terminate in Conquest and glorious Acquisitions. But a Continuance of extraordinary Taxes, without it, must inevitably end in Poverty and Ruin.

Now I can never be so unjust to his Majesty's most mild and gracious Government, as to ascribe our present Tranquillity to the Continuance of an extraordinary Number of Troops, any more, than I can believe, it would cease at the Reduction of part of them. This would be a dangerous, as well as an absurd Doctrine, with relation to us at Home. For should it be admitted, that above Eighteen thousand Land Forces have not only procured our present Tranquillity,

quillity, but that they are *absolutely necessary* to the Security of the Kingdom; then it will follow, that *the same Number* will always be *absolutely necessary*; that a *Military Power* is the most *Pacifick Form of Government*; that an *Army* will be a better Preserver of *Peace and Plenty*, a better Guardian of *our Civil and Religious Rights*, than *the Law of the Land*. This Doctrine too, considered with regard to *the Respect and Influence* we may have abroad, is as absurd and ill grounded. For *that Respect and Influence* can never proceed from *the Number of Land Forces*, we may think fit to burthen our selves with in *Time of Peace*. But it must proceed from *the Advantages of our Natural Situation*, from *our Naval Strength*, from *our Extended Commerce*, from *our Vast Riches*, which have enabled us to carry on *long and expensive Wars*, to maintain, when *our Allies* failed in *their*

Quota's, three great Armies at once in three distant Nations; and these Advantages will ever enable us to hold the Balance of Power in Europe, unless worn out with unnecessary and insupportable Taxes.

BUT, if not so much as the Four thousand Augmentation Troops are to be parted with, if they are to be continued till the Pretences of all the Princes in Europe shall be adjusted, till the different Interests of different Nations shall be reconciled, till the Claim of Bremen and Verden shall be fully settled and acquiesced in, till the long expected Form of a Congress shall be compleated: I freely own, I am not without my Apprehensions, that our immense National Debt, instead of being annually reduced, will be daily increased; that our present Grievances, for Grievances we have in the midst of all our Tranquillity, instead of being
speedily

speedily removed, will become perpetual, and we may dream of Blessings we shall never enjoy.

ON the whole, I am against continuing the Number of Forces proposed, and for disbanding at least the Four thousand Augmentation Troops.





S P E E C H

AGAINST

Maintaining an A R M Y of
Eighteen thousand two hundred
and twenty-six Effective Men for
the Land Service of the Year
1726. As it was spoken in the
HOUSE of COMMONS, Jan. 28.
1725.



Y Sentiments concerning
*a Standing Army in Time
of Peace* are well known
here, and it may seem
unnecessary, perhaps be thought im-
pertinent, in me to debate anew on
a worn and exhausted Topic, when
other

other Gentlemen, who entertain the same Sentiments, are pleased to be silent. But surely the Question before you is not become a *Motion of course*; surely as long as the *Grievance* is continued on one hand, so long there is a *Right of Complaint* on the other; and that *Complaint*, I should think, may without Offence be continued, till it can be proved, that the *British Government* is in its nature *Military*, or ought to be made so.

I do not intend to trouble you with what I have formerly urged, or to use any Argument drawn from the *Expence and Burthen*, or from the *Terror and Oppression* which have been brought upon this, and other Nations, by raising and keeping up a greater Number of Forces, than were absolutely necessary in Time of Peace. Not but that the *Gradations*, by which *Armies*, with all their Inconveniences, have been first introduced,

ced into *Free States*, and afterwards imposed upon them, ought to be had in perpetual remembrance. We ought never to forget, that *such Steps* have been usually taken, to gratify the *Views* of ambitious *Princes*, to carry on the *Schemes* of evil *Ministers*, to terrify *Parliaments* into *Obedience*, and to make the *Members* of them *dumb Spectators* of the *Miseries* of their Country.

I will not insist on *these Arguments*, however just in themselves, however proper on other Occasions, because they would be unapplicable to the present Situation of our Affairs. For we have a *Prince*, whose *only Aim* is to continue to us the *Blessings* of *Peace* and *Plenty*; We have a *Ministry*, whose *Merits* are above my *Commendations*; We have a *Parliament*, which acts with a *Spirit* superior to all *Influences*, and to all *Temptations*. Besides, every Year has its *particular Circumstances*, and
those

those particular Circumstances ought to guide our Resolutions, when we are making our annual Parliamentary Provisions for the Publick Service. I thought our Circumstances both at Home and Abroad, were so prosperous the last Session, that we might without hazard have disbanded at least the Four thousand Augmentation Troops. But the majority of the House was of another Opinion. There was then indeed a Rendezvous, though not a formed Congress, of Plenipotentiaries, vying with each other in the Splendor of their Equipages, and the Magnificence of their Entertainments, at Cambray, which had for some time employed our Speculations, and promised great Events to the World. And it was thought good Policy to shew the Negotiating Powers, by continuing our Army, that, if they would not accept his Majesty's Plan for settling the Ballance of Power, and for establishing the Tran-

D

quillity

quillity of Europe, Great Britain was ready to do her Part towards compelling them to a Compliance. But that Policy proved ineffectual, and that Negotiation appears at last to have wanted Substance, as well as Form, and to have produced nothing to Great Britain, but an Encrease of the Civil List Debt, as we were given to understand the last Session, in a Debate on that Subject, by one that knew the Secret.

BUT we are now told, that *prudent and powerful Alliances are actually made, and that what was only attempted at Cambray, has been fully accomplished at Herenhausen. Nor can there be any doubt, but that his Majesty's extensive Care over all his Foreign and Domestick Concerns, but that his alternate Residence here and abroad, as it hath procured, so it would, with the Advice of a good Ministry, and without the Aid of*
a great

a great *Army*, preserve to us, thro' the whole Course of his Reign, *that Security* and *those Blessings* we now enjoy. For, whether at home or abroad, *his Influence* is irresistible, because *his Counsels* are wise, and *his Designs* are just. Nor am I altered in this Opinion by what has happened at *Glasgow* in *Scotland*, or at *Thorn* in *Poland*.

FOR, if I am rightly informed, the Tumult at *Glasgow* was no more, than a *Mob*, composed chiefly of *Women*, a mere *Mock-resemblance* of an *Amazonian Army*, that might have been quelled by the *Interposition* of the *Civil Authority*, without recourse to that *military Vengeance*, which was executed there. Such *Commutations* we see arise almost in every *Nation*, when the *Occasions* of the *Publick* call for *new* and *extraordinary Taxes*; and yet they are generally despised, as *impotent Efforts*

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against

against *Established Governments*, and left to be punished by the *Laws of the Country*. But, now all is quiet, now all is safe, in *Scotland*; not the least *Murmur* is heard against the *Administration*: The *High-land Clans* have been disarmed without any Disturbance; they rejoice, we are told, in their Submission, and are brought to a perfect Sense of their Duty to his Majesty, by the obliging Behaviour and prudent Conduct of the *General*, whose Province it was to enforce the *Act of Parliament* against them.

As to the important *Affair of Thorn*; which, by the way, was no *Act of Retaliation*, as some, who neither consider the Circumstance of Time, nor Things, would insinuate, but the Effect of a *Spirit of Persecution*; we are assured that his Majesty has done more towards obtaining the desired *Satisfaction* for the
barbarous

barbarous and unchristian Cruelties committed there, and gained greater Concessions from the Catholick Princes, by his Pacifick Mediation, and by his Personal Interest, than he could probably have done by rougher Resorts, by threatening, or even by entering into, a Religious War. Nor can Malice itself suppose, that, whilst he is resenting the Violation of Treaties; he would do any thing, that would but look like an Infraction of the Limitation in the Act of Succession, which restrains the Crown from involving Great Britain in any Foreign Disputes, except where her own immediate Interests and Alliances are concerned.

I HOPE we conceive no ill Omens, I hope we have no Apprehensions from the French King's Marriage to the Daught^r of the Pretender to the Crown of Poland; no Distrust, that such an Alliance can shake
our

our late Protestant Treaty with that young Prince ; no Jealousy, that he will follow the Example of the Emperor and the King of Spain, by engaging in a clandestine League, without our Knowledge, and to our Prejudice. I must own, that would be a melancholy Consideration. For then an Army of twice Eighteen thousand Men would not be sufficient to defend that Cause, which his Majesty has hitherto asserted, with so much Glory to himself, with so much Advantage to the Protestant Part of Europe.

'T WAS a notorious Saying, and the avowed Policy of one of our late famous Statesmen, who lived till after the Revolution, and was thought a secret Instrument in it, that, notwithstanding the Noise and Clamour of the People against Soldiers in Time of Peace, the easiest and best Way of governing England was by an Army ; and that a Minister so guard-
ed

ed might prosecute *his own Measures* with Safety and Success, and soon make *the boasting Asserters of Liberty and Property*, as tame as A FLOCK OF TURKIES, and drive them which Way he pleased. This gives us a true Idea of some sorts of *modern Policy*, and of *the Insolence of that Man in Authority*, who ruined *his Prince* by the very *Methods* he would have enslaved *his Fellow-Subjects*; but not of *the Genius of the People of England*. For he found another *Spirit* in them; he found, they perpetually struggled with him in *Defence of the Church and State*, when he was endeavouring to sacrifice both, as he did *his own Honour and Conscience*, in order to erect an arbitrary and unlimited *Dominion in these Kingdoms*. Nor could they endure *his Return into Power* after the *Revolution*, tho' he was countenanced by *King William himself*, and tho' *his meritorious Perfidy* was strongly

ly pleaded in his Favour. But they continued *their Opposition* to him, till they had accomplished *his Disgrace*; and still *his Memory* is as *detestable*, as *his Administration* was *wicked*, tho' he neither *aggrandized his Family*, nor *augmented his Estate* by the *Spoils of the Publick*.

Now we are to hope the *military Principles* of this *Statesman* are *dead* with him, and we are sure good *Ministers* can never pursue the *Maxims* of *bad ones*, because the *Means* of their *Actions* must necessarily be as different, as the *Ends* are. 'Tis therefore unintelligible to me, how the *keeping up an Army in Time of Peace*, which has formerly been thought *criminal Advice* in *Ministers*, as being incompatible with our *Constitution*, should now be *annually recommended* to *Parliament* by *our modern Patriots*, as the only *Method* of securing us in the *Possession* of

of our Laws and Liberties. I say,
 this is unintelligible to me, and till
the seeming Paradox can be reconcil-
 led to Reason, I must beg leave
 constantly to oppose Questions of
 this nature.

S P E E C H

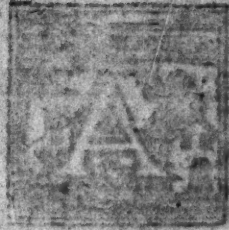
AGAINST

Maintaining an Army of

Seventy thousand Men for
 the Year
 in the
 House of Commons
 1729



But the Debater we
 have had on this sub-
 ject for many Years has
 cessively, it is hardly
 possible to offer any thing new;
 And Repetition I may judge by
 myself is as disagreeable to those
 that





S P E E C H

AGAINST

Maintaining an ARMY of
 Seventeen thousand seven hun-
 dred and nine Effective Men for
 the Land Service of the Year
 1730. As it was spoken in the
 HOUSE of COMMONS, Jan. 28.
 1729.



A**FTER** *the Debates* we
 have had on *this Sub-*
ject for many Years suc-
 cessively, it is hardly
 possible to offer any thing *new*;
 and *Repetition*, if I may judge by
 myself, is as disagreeable to those
 that

that *Speak*, as it can be to those that *bear*. However, a total *Silence* at this time would misbecome me (who too often trouble you on Occasions of less importance) when you are going to put a Question, that tends directly towards *the Establishment of an Army in Great Britain*, which I hope will never be so far *Germanized*, as tamely to submit to a *military Government*.

I WILL not insinuate, that *the Honourable Person*, who made the Motion, did it rather to comply with the Obligations of *his Office* (from whence *the Army-Estimates* are brought into the House) than out of any Conviction that the Troops demanded are necessary for the Service of the Year; because he declares otherwise; and as we are all supposed to act here without Influence, so we must not suspect, that he ever countenanced *those almost*

irresistible *Jobbs*, which my new *Ally* on the Floor owns attended the *War-Office* in his Time, and which he believes now attend all *Offices* concerned in the *Publick Expences*. But I will insist, that this Motion is a flat Negative to the *Address*, for which he voted the first Day of the Session, and it plainly implies a Distrust of the Validity of the *Treaty of Seville*, which he then assured us would immediately produce all the Blessings of an absolute Peace, and deliver us not only from the Apprehensions, but from the Inconveniences of a *War*. Now he is pleased to change his Language, and endeavour to persuade us, that we ought not to make any Reduction of our Land Forces. Because our Circumstances have been such for sixteen Years past, that, whenever any Reduction has been made, something happened, which soon occasioned an Encrease of Troops and Expences.

If we were to allow him this last sort of Reasoning, in opposition to his former, it would prove too much ; it would prove, that we have no other Cause to rejoice at *the late Reduction* (for which we have humbly thanked his Majesty) than that it was so small ; it would prove, that, notwithstanding *our famous and successful Negotiations*, we are like to remain in *the same Condition*, and under *the same Difficulties*, we have been for *Sixteen Years together*. But to pass over these Remarks, *the late Reduction* was very fallacious, and looked as if *those*, who had *the Direction of it*, were not heartily inclined to get rid of *our growing military Power*, or to return to the free Exercise of *our Civil Government*. Nay, we have just heard it laid down for Doctrine, that *tho' our Government is not military, tho' an Army is not Part of our Constitution*, yet it will

will be necessary to continue our present Army of near Eighteen thousand Men for many Years longer, on account of the Government's consulting its own Preservation.

SIR, the Principle of *Self-Preservation* will last as long as *Persons* and *Governments* themselves *subsist*, and is an Argument that may be constantly renewed, that may be urged *ad infinitum*. But I am so far from admitting this Argument in its full Extent, that I cannot admit it in any degree, as applied to the Question. For it does not appear to me, that we can have Occasion, even this Year, for all the Troops demanded, considering the glorious Scene of Affairs, which the *Honourable Gentleman* says is opened to us, and to all Europe. They are not necessary, I suppose, to awe *Spain* into a firm Adherence to its *own Treaty*. They are not necessary,

ry,

ry, to force the Emperor into an immediate *Accession*. Nor are they, in any sort, necessary, for *the Safety* of his Majesty's Person and Government.

FORCE and *Violence* are the Resort of *Usurpers* and *Tyrants* only--- I perceive some *Gentlemen* take Offence at my *Words*, and therefore, that they may not be *misconstrued*, I will repeat them--- I assert then, it is a grounded Maxim in *Civil Science*, that *Force* and *Violence* are the Resort of *Usurpers* and *Tyrants* only. Because they are, with good reason, distrustful of the People, whom they oppress; and because they have no other Security for the Continuance of their *unlawful* and *unnatural Dominion*, than what depends entirely on *the Strength* of *their Armies*.

BUT

BUT it is the peculiar Happiness and Glory of *Great Britain* to be bless'd with a Prince, who wants no such Support, who reigns absolute in the Hearts of his Subjects, who prefers their Ease and Interest to the Lustre and Grandeur of his Crown, who sets them a Pattern of Prudence and Wisdom, whose Royal Goodness would be offended with continuing any Tax, any Burthen upon them, but what is requisite to supply the immediate Occasions and Necessities of his Government.

FOR these Reasons, Sir, I cannot assent to the Question. But, before I conclude, give me leave to say, there is an *Article in the Estimate*, under your Consideration, which I readily allow, in the midst of all my Frugality (tho' I must at the same time own, with those Gentlemen who dispute it, that it is a

new

new Item, and an additional Article to the Estimate of the last Year.) I mean the Salary of Two hundred Pounds for the Physician of the Tower. For no Person, who shall hereafter have the Misfortune to be confined there, on any account whatsoever, should want proper Assistance in case of Sickness. Members of this House have been frequently sent thither, and for very different Reasons. Some for speaking freely, Others for acting corruptly. Now, as it is uncertain of what Denomination the Member, or any other Gentleman may be, who shall next be committed to the State-Prison, let us give an Instance of our general Compassion, and not grudge so trifling a Sum for so charitable a Purpose.

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S P E E C H

AGAINST

Maintaining an A R M Y of
Seventeen thousand seven hun-
dred and nine Effective Men for
the Land Service of the Year
1732. As it was spoken in the
House of Commons, Jan. 26:
1731.



SEE this Question in the
same light with these Gen-
tlemen, who are of opini-
on, that the Determina-
tion of it will shew the People of
Great Britain, whether they are to
enjoy their Civil Constitution, with
all

all its Rights and Privileges, or to endure a Military Government, with all its Inconveniences and Oppressions.

HOWEVER harsh *this Assertion* may sound, it is so well founded, that, if we cannot now hope for a *Reduction of the Army*, we may for ever despair of it. For this is the *Conjuncture*, this is *the Crisis*, when *the People of Great Britain* may with Reason and Justice expect, I had almost said demand, an *Exemption* from every *unnecessary Tax*; and as none is more *grievous* at all times, so none seems to be more *unnecessary* at this time, than that, which is occasioned by maintaining an *Extraordinary Number of Land Forces*. Such an *Exemption* must be acceptable to his Majesty, who hath been most graciously pleased to open this Session with declaring, that it is a *Pleasure to Him to give Ease to his Subjects*,

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whenever the *Welfare of the Publick* will admit of it.

SIR, There can be no doubt, but the *Welfare of the Publick* will now admit of reducing our *Expences* on the Head of the *Army*. For we have the same *Royal Assurance*, that the general *Tranquillity of Europe* is fully restored and established; that all the jarring and contending *Powers* are united, all the different *Views of Interest and Ambition* reconciled, by his Majesty's extensive *Influence*, and consummate *Wisdom*; that the *Wounds*, which have been long bleeding, are entirely cured, by his healing *Hand*; that *Peace and good Harmony* are returned together; that the *Duty and Affection* of his *Subjects*, are all he desires for his *Paternal Love and Concern* for them; that his *Government* has no other *Security*, but what is equally conducive to their *Happiness*.

THIS

THIS is *the Situation*, which his Majesty promises Himself will inspire us with such a *seasonable Zeal* for the Publick Good, as becomes a *Parliament sensible of the Blessings they enjoy*. And *Imagination* cannot form a more pleasing Idea, a more perfect Plan, of *National Prosperity*, than what is here described. Nor could a good and gracious Prince bring *better Tidings*, or communicate more welcome News from the *Throne*, to a *Free People*.

SINCE then his Majesty has so gloriously performed *his Part*, let us not be wanting on *ours*. Let us take the earliest Opportunity of convincing *Those we represent*, that they are immediately to reap *the Fruit of his Royal Labours*, and that all *their Grievances* will be gradually redressed. Let us begin with *reducing the Army*, and making them sensible, that

that it is not intended, they should any longer bear *the Burthen and Inconveniences of War*, in a Day of profound Peace, and universal Tranquillity.

If we fail in *this great Point*, the People (who did not resign *their Understandings*, when they delegated *their Power* to us) know they have a *Right to judge for themselves*. They will not be imposed upon by *Appearances*. They will be apt (notwithstanding all the *fine Words* they hear, and all the *fine Speeches* they read) to call this *boasted Success*, these *promised Blessings*, no more, than a mere *Delusion*, a *golden Dream*, a *chimerical and visionary Scene of Happiness*.

I wish therefore *the Honourable Person*, who moved *this Question*, and the other Gentlemen who have been *his Coadjutors* in the Support
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of it, had been a little more explicit. I wish instead of amusing the Committee with a Detail of the various Reductions of our Forces from the Treaty of Reswick down to this day, and assigning wrong Causes and Consequences to each of those Reductions; instead of assuring us, that, to their own private Knowledge, the Officers of the Army had frequently, on extraordinary Occasions, assisted the Civil Magistrates in the Execution of their Duty; instead of reviving the old exploded Argument of *Disaffection* and *Jacobitism*; I wish, instead of rambling so widely from the Point in Debate, they would have dealt more candidly with their Audience, and told us plainly, whether they think a *Standing Land-Force* will always be necessary to preserve and secure our present happy Settlement: Or whether they think the *Civil Constitution* of this Kingdom, so weakly, and so imperfectly

perfectly framed, as to want something of the Military Power to strengthen and sustain it.

IF they entertain *the first of these Notions*, they must give me leave to take notice, that the Insinuation is unjust, and the Argument odious, as it is a gross Reflection on *our present happy Settlement*, which is founded on *the Principles of Liberty*, and which you know, Sir, was intended to rectify all *the Errors*, to reform all *the Abuses of preceding Reigns*. I say, it is a gross Reflection on *our present happy Settlement*, to suppose that his Majesty cannot wear his Crown with Safety, but by burthening the Nation with the constant Charge of maintaining near Eighteen thousand Men, but by establishing a *Force*, which will perpetually interfere with *the Liberty of his Subjects*, and consequently shake *the Foundation of his Throne*.

Throne. For, however changeable the Counsels and Actions of Ministers may be, the Nature of Things is permanent, and it is impossible, that, what has been the constant, the certain, Cause of Destruction to other Governments, should, by any new Schemes, by any Refinements in Politicks, be made the sole, or at least the chief, Security of his Majesty's Crown. 'Tis true indeed, that the Parliament has of late Years consented to keep up an Extraordinary Number of Troops in Time of Peace, for Reasons better known to those, who gave their Consent, than to me, who opposed them, when they did so. But it has never yielded up, or renounced, that fundamental Maxim, that a Land Force in England ought to be considered, as the Creature of Necessity, which should not be allowed to subsist one moment longer, than the Exigences of the State require.

If they entertain the *second No-*
tion, they are equally mistaken in
that, as in the *first*. For it is a No-
 tion highly *injurious* to our *Constitu-*
tion, which was so happily com-
 pounded in its *Original Formation*,
 that it can receive no *Addition* or
Alteration, without *Prejudice*. There
 is so close, so just a *Connexion* be-
 twixt all the *Parts* of it, that if any
One should be made *independent* of
 the *Rest*, it would destroy that *Sym-*
metry, which is essential to the *Whole*,
 and which *distinguishes* it from all
 other *Constitutions*. The *Crown* (tho'
limited) is armed with *Prerogative*
 and *Power*, sufficient, as well to
 defend itself, as to protect its *Sub-*
jects. The *People* are possessed of
Rights and *Privileges*, in as exten-
 sive a degree, as is consistent with
 the *Nature* of *Monarchy*, and those
Rights and *Privileges* are secured to
 them by the *strongest* and *most* sa-
 cred

cred Obligations. Nay, this Notion is not only injurious, but impracticable. For what I have frequently advanced here, must be universally allowed, that the Civil and Military Power cannot subsist long together; and it is easy to foretel, which will at last prevail, which will at last assume the Sole Dominion. We see the fatal Effects of such a Conjunction, in those Kingdoms, where Armies Tyrannize, and where Senates servilely Obey.

Now God forbid, that the delightful View, the glorious Prospect, which his Majesty has opened to his Subjects, of their present envied Condition, and of their future unspeakable Felicities, should terminate in Confusion and Calamity. God forbid, that any Compliance, any Resolution, of ours, should endanger, or alter, the best constituted, the best ballanced, Government in Europe. For

as it is the *Glory* of our *Ancestors*, that they have maintained it in opposition to all the Attempts of Innovation, and that they have transmitted it entire to their Posterity; so it will be a *Mark of eternal Infamy* to that *Generation*, in whose Time it shall happen, either by the *Ambition* of the *Prince*, or by the *Treachery* of the *Ministry*, or by the *Slavishness* of the *People*, to be *surrendered*, or *destroyed*.

BUT I forbear running into general Arguments. I forbear too answering the *Distinctions*, which have been made, betwixt *Parliament Armies* and *Crown Armies*. For, by what *Epithets* soever distinguished, or by what *Authority* soever raised or allowed, *Armies* are in their Nature the same, and the *Danger* of continuing them the same, as I have formerly endeavoured to prove, when the *Ministry* required for many Sessions

sions an extraordinary Number of Land Forces, only because they had by their Negligence, or by their Insufficiency, so encumbered and embarrassed the Publick Affairs, that they wanted a stronger Guard, a more effectual Support, to secure their Administration, than their own Wisdom and Conduct.

BUT the Case is altered, and his Majesty has extricated us out of all the Difficulties, out of the long unsettled State of Affairs, in which his Ministers had involved us. I therefore rest the whole Debate on the Circumstances we are said to be in this Day, and in that View I take it to be impossible for any one, who is a Well-wisher to the true and ancient Constitution of this Kingdom, to vote for the Question, as it now stands. I submit indeed to the Amendment, made by a Noble Lord, for a smaller Number of Forces, than
was

was at first proposed, I mean for Twelve thousand, rather than near Eighteen thousand Men, only as it is the *minus Malum*, and not because I think that Number now necessary for our Preservation, nor because I think any Number ought ever to be admitted into our Establishment, or considered as a Part of our Constitution, on any pretence whatsoever.





A
S P E E C H
F O R

Relieving the U N H A P P Y
S U F F E R E R S in the *Charitable*
Corporation: As it was spoken in
the H O U S E of C O M M O N S, *May*
8. 1732.



THE House is extremely
obliged to the *Honoura-*
ble Gentlemen of the Com-
mittee, for the great Pains
they have taken, and for the great
Skill they have shewn, in detecting
a dark and execrable *Scene of Villany*.
And surely we ought not to enter-
tain any *Proposition* which comes from
them

them (in consequence of *their Enquiry, and of our own Proceedings*) with *Jealousy and Distrust*.

I CAN therefore by no means agree with those Gentlemen, who suspect, that there is some *latent and disguised Meaning in the Question before us*, and who are for leaving out *the latter Part* of it. Because I think no Question was ever framed with more *Candour*, or conceived in more *clear and intelligible Terms*, than this is; and *the latter Part* is so far from being exceptionable, or superfluous, that it is the necessary, the natural, *Conclusion* from the *Premises*, contained in *the first Part*: For since the Persons named have been lately voted guilty of *the Crimes*, with which they stand charged in *the Report of our Committee*; what is the next Step we are to take, but to vote some Punishment, and what Punishment so *mild* with regard to
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the Offenders, or so just with regard to the Sufferers, as Restitution.

LET us take the whole Question together, and we shall judge best of the Propriety and Coherence of its several Clauses. It runs thus; viz. That * * * * * Having been guilty of many notorious Breaches of Trust, and many indirect and fraudulent Practices, in the Direction and Management of the Affairs of the Charitable Corporation for Relief of Industrious Poor, by assisting them with small Sums upon Pledges at legal Interest, and having thereby occasioned great Losses to many of his Majesty's Subjects, ought to make a just Satisfaction for the same.

Now, as I have already said, no Question was ever conceived in more clear and intelligible Terms, than this is, and I am at a loss to comprehend, why Gentlemen should dis-

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like

like any Expressions in it, especially why the ingenious Lord, and the worthy Person his Second, should object to the Words *Just Satisfaction*. For certainly they cannot imagine, that these Words will be declared unintelligible in this House, where the Nature and Meaning of *Justice* is supposed to be perfectly well understood, as it is, or ought to be, the Rule and Measure of all our Determinations; and they must forgive me, if I think no Dutch Commentators ever mistook the Sense of an Author, more grossly, than they have mistaken the Sense of this Question.

BUT what is most remarkable in this Debate, is the Impatience some Gentlemen express to know, whether the Advocates for the Question intend to proceed against the Offenders by *Impeachment*, or by *Bill*; and they seem to demand, that we should

should immediately come to a Resolution.

WHENCE can this Impatience arise? If it arises from Compassion, why were these very Gentlemen, who now interpose, silent? Why did they suffer the Objects of their Compassion to be unanimously censured, when they had made but an insufficient Defence for themselves, and wanted the Aid of their Eloquence? If it arises from Curiosity, I think it ought rather to be kept in Suspence, than gratified, because it is unseasonable and irregular. If it arises from the Fears and Apprehensions of particular Persons; why should others, who are under no such Anxiety, be obliged to remove those Fears and Apprehensions, especially, when it is impossible for them to know how well they may be grounded.

Since then no good Reason appears to justify *this extraordinary Demand*; since *this Question* is only *declarative of our present Disposition*, to do *Justice*, and to give *Satisfaction to the injured and distressed Proprietors*; methinks there should be no *Difficulty* in passing it. For we shall be as much at liberty, after we have passed it, as we are before, to choose *that Method of Proceeding*, which shall be thought *most proper*, when we are sufficiently prepared for a *final Decision*.

WHAT has been said, concerning the Difference betwixt *Impeachments* and *Bills of Attainder*, is foreign to our present Point, and might have been spared in an Audience, where that Argument hath been so fully and frequently discussed, at the *End* of almost every *Administration*.

WE all know, that *Impeachments* are the ancient Parliamentary Method of bringing *Publick Criminals* to *Publick Justice*, and it is the Method we ought to pursue on *common and ordinary Occasions*. Not but that it is liable to many *Difficulties*, to the *Tediousness* and *Perplexity* of *Forms*, to the *Caprice* of the *House of Lords*, by which means *Justice* hath very often been *delayed*, and sometimes entirely *defeated*.

WE all know too, that *Bills of Attainder* are the utmost Stretch, and the terrible Part, of Parliamentary Power, which ought never to be exerted, but in the *most heinous and most flagrant Instances*. I have always considered them, as *such*: My *Aversion* is sufficiently known, by my *constant Opposition*, to them; and I envy no *Man* the *Glory* of having carried *Bills of Pains and Penalties*

nalties through this House, by being
Prosecutor, Judge, Jurymen, and
even Evidence in the same Cases.

BUT should it happen in our
Day, that an overgrown unweildy
Minister of State should tumble from
the Height of his Power, and fall
under the Censure of this House,
for protecting Fraud, and patronizing
Corruption: A Minister, Sir, who
may have made such Bills, as are
now dreaded, the Instruments of his
personal Vengeance, and the Support
of his cruel Administration: Perhaps
the Voice of an injured and oppressed
Nation, crying aloud for Justice,
and demanding speedy and exemplary
Punishment, may then prevail over
Gentlemen's natural Inclinations, and
force them to comply with what
they would otherwise decline and
disapprove. Nor could the Criminal
himself, with any appearance of Mo-
desty, or colour of Reason, complain.

For

For *Lex Talionis* would at least be *Argumentum ad Hominem*, and the World might universally allow, that it would be a righteous Judgment, for *Necis Artifices arte perire sua*. But we shall have a better Opportunity of explaining ourselves, and delivering our Sentiments at large, if the Case, I here only suppose, should ever come actually before us, and undergo a *Parliamentary Examination*.

I SHOULD apologize for this *Digression*, had not the Course of the Debate led me into it, and made it necessary to say something on *these Heads*. But I shall conclude with returning to the Question, and humbly offering my Opinion that we ought to assure the *Proprietors*, we will assist them (in a future *Session*, tho' we cannot in *this*) to repair the *excessive Losses* they have sustained, by the *Frauds and Iniquities*

ties of their Directions, as lies within
the Reach of this Part of the Legis-
lature.

I HOPE too, we shall not only
concur with the Honourable Gentle-
men of the Committee in their Propo-
sition, but give them the Thanks of
the House for the Honour and Integri-
ty, with which they have acquitted
themselves in the publick Service.

F I N I S.

